

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 115489

FOR MAYNES FROM BAKER

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, PFOR, APER

SUBJECT: MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY: MESSAGES FROM THE ACTING
SECRETARY TO AMBASSADORS AND THE DEPARTMENT

ACTING SECRETARY HAS SUGGESTED A NUMBER OF CHANGES IN
THE MEMORANDUM OF MAY 3, WHICH YOU AUTHORIZED, ASKING
HIM TO DISPATCH MESSAGES TO OUR AMBASSADORS AND SENIOR
DEPARTMENT OFFICERS EMPHASIZING THE IMPORTANCE OF
MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY. PRINCIPAL CHANGES ARE: (A)
THE MEMO ITSELF IDENTIFIES A NUMBER OF KEY ISSUES WHICH
WILL BE THE SUBJECT OF OUR MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY FOR
THE REMAINDER OF THE YEAR INSTEAD OF SIMPLY SUGGESTING
SEVERAL ISSUES AS ILLUSTRATIONS OF MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY;
(B) THE TELEGRAM AND THE MEMO TO DEPARTMENT OFFICERS
ALSO IDENTIFY THESE ISSUES AND PROVIDE A BRIEF
DISCUSSION OF EACH OF THEM. CHANGES ARE INCORPORATED
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IN TEXT OF TELEGRAM TO ALL DIPLOMATIC POSTS WHICH
WAS ENCLOSURE TO YOUR MEMO. REVISED TEXT FOLLOWS
FOR YOUR APPROVAL OR COMMENT. BEGIN TEXT:

1. THE EXPANDED MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS EFFORT BEGUN JUST
OVER A YEAR AGO HAS ALREADY HAD SIGNIFICANT SUCCESS.

THE PROGRAM DESERVES A LARGE SHARE OF THE CREDIT FOR THE ABSENCE OF THE KOREA AND PUERTO RICO ISSUES FROM LAST YEAR'S UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY. IT ALSO CONTRIBUTED SUBSTANTIALLY TO THE SUCCESS OF SOME OF OUR POSITIONS OF UNESCO AND THE UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM (UNDP). THE SECRETARY AND I KNOW THAT YOUR EFFECTIVE DIPLOMACY AND CLOSE COLLABORATION WITH THE DEPARTMENT WERE A MAJOR REASON FOR THIS ACHIEVEMENT. WE WANT TO ASK NOW FOR YOUR CONTINUED PERSONAL ATTENTION AND SUPPORT AS WE MAINTAIN AND EXPAND THE MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS EFFORT.

2. THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS AT THE UNITED NATIONS HAS PUBLICLY CONFIRMED THE HIGH PRIORITY WE GIVE TO AMERICAN PARTICIPATION IN MULTILATERAL MEETINGS AND ORGANIZATIONS. WE HAVE BEEN IMPRESSED BY THE REPORTING FROM MANY POSTS THAT THEIR COUNTRIES GIVE A SIMILARLY HIGH PRIORITY TO MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY IN THEIR OWN CONDUCT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. WE CAN EXPECT THAT A GROWING NUMBER OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES WILL BE PURSUED MULTILATERALLY. THIS WILL REQUIRE THAT WE CARRY FORWARD AND STRENGTHEN THE TEAMWORK ALREADY ESTABLISHED BETWEEN THE DEPARTMENT AND POSTS AND BUILD ON THE EFFECTIVE AND POSITIVE RELATIONS ON MULTILATERAL MATTERS WHICH MANY MISSIONS HAVE ALREADY ACHIEVED.

3. THOSE POLITICAL ISSUES WHICH FORMED THE BASIS OF OUR 1975-76 PROGRAM REMAIN OF CONCERN BUT THEY ARE LIKELY TO BE LESS ACTIVE FOR THE REMAINDER OF THIS YEAR THAN THEY

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WERE LAST YEAR. THERE HAS BEEN A GROWING EMPHASIS IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS ON ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ISSUES, AN EMPHASIS WHICH PARALLELS CONCERNS IN OUR OWN GOVERNMENT'S PRIORITIES. WE HAVE IDENTIFIED THE FOLLOWING AS ADDITIONAL KEY ISSUES OF MULTILATERAL IMPORTANCE:

-- NORTH/SOUTH ECONOMIC ISSUES. THE PRINCIPAL COMPONENTS OF THIS DIALOGUE (COMMODITIES, DEBT RESCHEDULING, RESOURCE AND TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER AND MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS) WILL COME UP IN A SERIES OF MEETINGS THE REST OF THIS YEAR (CIEC, POSSIBLE RESUMED 31ST UNGA; SUMMER ECOSOC, RESUMED UNCTAD COMMODITIES MEETING), AND THE 32ND UNGA WILL UNDOUBTEDLY PRESENT A FULL SCHEDULE OF MEETINGS FOR 1978.

-- HUMAN RIGHTS. WE HAVE ESTABLISHED THE OUTLINES OF A SERIES OF HUMAN RIGHTS INITIATIVES IN SPEECHES BY THE PRESIDENT, THE SECRETARY AND ANDY YOUNG. WE HAVE MADE SOME SPECIFIC PROPOSALS--HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES,

ADDITIONAL MEETING OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION, TRANSFER OF THE VENUE OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION FROM GENEVA TO NEW YORK--AND HAVE ACKNOWLEDGED THE NEED TO CONSIDER ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RIGHTS AS WELL AS TRADITIONAL POLITICAL RIGHTS. THESE INITIATIVES HAVE BEEN RECEIVED WITH SOME MISGIVING AND SUSPICION, BUT ALSO WITH INTEREST IN MANY QUARTERS. THE PROCESS OF FURTHERING THESE INITIATIVES MULTILATERALLY WILL REQUIRE A LENGTHY COORDINATED EFFORT.

-- UN BUDGET CONTROL. IT IS CLEAR THAT UN BUDGETS REQUIRE MORE SYSTEMATIC ANALYSIS AND CONTROL THAN THEY HAVE RECEIVED SO FAR. WE FACE THE GROWING ALARM OF THE US PUBLIC, AND PARTICULARLY OF CONGRESSIONAL GROUPS AT REGULAR LARGE BUDGET INCREASES. WE MADE A SMALL BEGINNING AT THE SPRING MEETING OF THE GENEVA GROUP, CONFIDENTIAL

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AND THE MAJOR WESTERN DONORS ARE AT LEAST SYMPATHETIC TO OUR APPROACH. BUT A SUSTAINED EFFORT WILL BE NECESSARY IF THE INERTIA AND RESISTANCE OF VESTED INTERESTS IS TO BE OVERCOME.

-- UN SPECIALIZED AGENCY ISSUES. POLITICIZING OF THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES IN A MANNER WHICH DAMAGES THE AGENCY'S WORK, AND CALLS INTO QUESTION CONTINUED US PARTICIPATION IS A LIMITED, BUT WORRISOME PHENOMENON. WE HAVE FACED IT MOST ACUTELY IN THE ILO AND UNESCO WHOSE LEGITIMATE WORK INEVITABLY RAISES DIFFICULT POLITICAL ISSUES. OUR CHIEF CONCERN IS THAT AN AGENCY'S OWN RULES OF PROCEDURE NOT BE VIOLATED, OR ITS CONSTITUTIONAL PURPOSES DISTORTED, AND THAT THE WORK OF THE TECHNICAL AGENCIES NOT BE DISRUPTED BY CONTENTIOUS POLITICAL ISSUES. WE HAVE FOUND AN INCREASING NUMBER OF STATES AGREE WITH US. WE BELIEVE A MULTILATERAL APPROACH OFFERS A PROMISING WAY OF APPROACHING THIS PROBLEM.

4. WE HAVE REQUESTED THE ASSISTANT SECRETARIES TO REVIEW AND STRENGTHEN THEIR BUREAU'S SUPPORT FOR OUR MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY. IN PARTICULAR, WE HAVE ASKED IO TO ENSURE THROUGH ITS COORDINATION IN THE DEPARTMENT THAT YOU HAVE THE NECESSARY ORGANIZATIONAL SUPPORT AS WE CALL UPON YOU TO ADDRESS ADDITIONAL ISSUES AND MORE MEETINGS WITH YOUR HOST GOVERNMENTS. SIMILARLY, WE ASK THAT YOU REVIEW YOUR OWN ORGANIZATIONAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR HANDLING AND REPORTING OF MULTILATERAL QUESTIONS.

5. WE FULLY RECOGNIZE THAT WE CAN EXPECT YOU TO BE

MOST EFFECTIVE IN YOUR REPRESENTATIONS AND DISCUSSIONS
ONLY WHEN YOU ARE GIVEN ADEQUATE LEAD TIME AND THE FULL
BACKGROUND AS WELL AS THE SUBSTANCE OF OUR POSITIONS.
WE HAVE CALLED THIS TO THE ATTENTION OF THE ASSISTANT
SECRETARIES AND HAVE ASKED IO TO ENSURE THAT THIS
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OCCURS IN EVERY POSSIBLE CASE. YOUR OBSERVATIONS ON
HOW BEST TO CARRY OUT OUR MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY
TOGETHER WILL ALWAYS BE WELCOME. END TEXT.

CHRISTOPHER

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